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FOL KABUL 4646 SENT ACTION SECSTAT INFO ANKARA DACCA ISLAMABAD
LONDON MOSCOW NEW DELHI PEKING TEHRAN CAINCPC CINCUER
JUNE 8, 1978 REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D N N T I A L KABUL 4646

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, PGOV, ELAB, EGEN, EFIN, AF
SUBJECT: AFGHANISTAN'S LEFTIST REGIME CONTINUES TO
CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION

REF: KABUL 4177

CINCPAC: FOR POLAD

CINCEUR: FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY. THE DUST CREATED BY THE EXPLOSIVE AFGHAN
REVOLUTION OF SIX WEEKS AGO IS GRADUALLY SETTLING,
ALTHOUGH SOME FIGHTING PERSISTS IN TWO OF THE COUNTRY'S
EASTERN BORDER PROVINCES. THE REGIME CONTINUES TO
WORK TOWARD CONSOLIDATING ITS POLITICAL POWER AND,
DESPITE THE ABOVE FIGHTING, WE DISCERN NO SIGNIFICANT
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MILITARY THREAT TO THIS REGIME. WITHIN THE RULING
POLITICAL PARTY, HOWEVER, A STRUGGLE FOR POWER
BETWEEN CHAIRMAN NOOR MOHAMMAD TARAKI AND VICE
CHAIRMAN BABRAK KARMAL, OR BETWEEN MILITARY AND
CIVILIAN FACTIONS, COULD BREAK OUT AT ANY TIME.
A STRUGGLE FOR POWER REPRESENTS THE PRINCIPAL
THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

2. WHILE NO U.S. PROGRAMS HAVE YET BEEN DISCON-
TINUED, THE SOVIET ROLE IN THIS COUNTRY IS GROW-

ING STEADILY. ADDITIONAL ADVISORS HAVE ARRIVED, AND HAVE BEEN DEPLOYED TO DIFFERENT AND, IN SOME CASES, STRATEGIC POSITIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY AND CIVILIAN BUREAUCRACY. PRO-SOVIET PROPAGANDA HAS BECOME A DAILY STAPLE OF THE AFGHAN MEDIA DIET, ESPECIALLY EVIDENT BY THE SIGNING OF A SEEMINGLY ENDLESS NUMBER OF ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS. STRIDENT ANTI-WESTERN EDITORIALS AND REPORTS HAVE ALSO BEGUN TO APPEAR IN THE AFGHAN VERNACULAR PRESS -- BUT, SO FAR, NOT IN THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE "KABUL TIMES," THE DAILY READ MOSTLY BY FOREIGNERS. THIS PRO-SOVIET PRESS TILT HAS INCREASED AS A RESULT OF A RECENT TASS AGREEMENT WITH AFGHANISTAN'S OFFICIAL BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY TO EXCHANGE "NEWS" STORIES AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION. WHILE THE LEADERSHIP'S LEFTIST VIEWS ARE VAGUELY DISGUISED, THE BLATANT PRO-COMMUNIST REMARKS OF FOREIGN MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN IN HAVANA WERE NOT PUBLISHED HERE, PERHAPS BECAUSE THE REGIME IS WARY OF SHOWING ITS COLORS BEFORE ITS DOMESTIC POSITION IS SECURE.

3. THE PARTY'S SUPREMACY IN AFGHAN AFFAIRS HAS BECOME CLEAR -- A DEVELOPMENT WHICH COULD RANKLE
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SOME NON-PARTY MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY WHO MAY FEEL THEY ARE GETTING THE SHORT END OF THE STICK. ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN RUMORS OF DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN CERTAIN MAJOR FIGURES, WE HAVE NO CONFIRMED REPORTS THAT KHALQ-PARCHAM, CIVILIAN-MILITARY, OR PARTY-NONPARTY RIFTS HAVE YET OCCURRED. NOR CAN WE CONFIRM THAT ANY "COUNTER-REVOLUTION" IS FORMING, DESPITE A BBC REPORT THAT EIGHT CONSERVATIVE AFGHAN POLITICAL PARTIES HAD DECLARED THE CREATION OF A "LIBERATION MOVEMENT" IN NEIGHBORING PAKISTAN. CONSIDERABLE MILITARY FORCE WOULD BE REQUIRED TO BREAK THIS REGIME'S HOLD ON POWER, AND WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SUCH A FORCE IS BEING ASSEMBLED ANYWHERE WITHIN REACH OF KABUL. BY NOW, THE CONTROL OF SOVIET "ADVISORS" THROUGHOUT THE ARMED FORCES IS PROBABLY SUFFICIENT TO BLOCK ANY SUCH PLOTTING.

4. IN THE MEDIA, THE FORMER RULING CLASSES ARE CONTINUALLY BERATED, BUT THE CHARGES ARE USUALLY UNSUPPORTED BY SPECIFIC EXAMPLES. REPORTS CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE THAT OFFICIALS OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS ARE STILL BEING ARRESTED OR REARRESTED.

5. THE TARAKI REGIME HAS PROMISED MUCH (SOMETHING FOR ALMOST EVERYONE) AND HAS TAKEN A NUMBER OF POPULAR MEASURES IN THE AREAS OF EDUCATION, EMPLOY-

MENT AND HEALTH. IF IT CAN DELIVER QUICKLY ON ITS PROMISES OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, IT MAY BE ABLE TO OVERCOME THE TREPIDATION OF MANY AFGHANS REGARDING THE FUTURE OF ISLAM AND THE CLOSENESS OF THE SOVIET TIE. THE FATE OF WHATEVER REMAINS OF AFGHAN NATIONALISM AND INDEPENDENCE APPEARS INTIMATELY LINKED WITH THE ABILITY OF NATIONALIST ELEMENTS IN THE LEADERSHIP TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN CONTROL OVER THE LEVERS OF POWER, AND TO LIMIT THE
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INFLUENCE OF THOSE WHO WOULD MANEUVER THIS COUNTRY EVEN CLOSER TO THE BOSOM OF ITS "GREAT NORTHERN NEIGHBOR." END OF SUMMARY.

6. NO US PROGRAMS HAVE YET BEEN DISCONTINUED: SIX WEEKS AFTER THIS GOVERNMENT CAME TO POWER, NO US PRIVATE OR GOVERNMENT PROGRAM HAS BEEN TERMINATED. DESPITE OUR EXPECTATIONS THAT INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE ASIA FOUNDATION, THE PEACE CORPS, USICA, AND PRIVATE JOINT VENTURES MIGHT BE TERMINATED OR AT LEAST LIMITED, THIS HAS NOT HAPPENED. THE ASIA FOUNDATION HAS BEEN TOLD TO STAY, TWO MINISTRIES HAVE INDICATED THEY WANT CONTINUED PEACE CORPS HELP, THE MISSIONARY-RUN NOOR EYE CLINIC (LARGEST EYE HOSPITAL IN THE COUNTRY) HAS BEEN ASKED TO OPERATE AS USUAL, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS TOLD PANAM IT WANTS TO CONTINUE THE ARIANA AFGHAN AIRLINES-PANAM JOINT VENTURE. AS FOR USAID, THE GOVERNMENT CLEARLY WANTS OUR HELP IN THE HELMAND VALLEY, BUT OUR INITIAL CONTACTS WITH DEVELOPMENT MINISTRIES INDICATE THAT THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN (DRA) IS NOT YET READY TO REVEAL TO US HOW EXTENSIVE A USAID PRESENCE IT WANTS. AFTER THE GOVERNMENT CONSOLIDATES ITS POWER, WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF IT WERE TO REDUCE SEVERELY CERTAIN USG PROGRAMS AND PERHAPS FORCE OUT PRIVATE COMMERCIAL VENTURES.

7. A TARAKI "CULT OF PERSONALITY" EMERGING: PICTURES OF TARAKI DAILY ADORN THE FRONT-PAGES OF ALL AFGHAN NEWSPAPERS. HIS ADDRESSES TO GROUPS OF TRIBAL ELDERS, WORKERS, ETC., RECEIVE PROMINENT TREATMENT, AND THE TEXT OF HIS MAY 9 "30-POINTS" POLICY SPEECH HAS NOW
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BEEN REPRODUCED IN BOOKLET FORM, A LA MAO. TARAKI'S INTERVIEWS WITH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS (TWO IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS, A RATE WHICH GREATLY EXCEEDS THAT OF DAOUD) ARE ALSO TRUMPETED AS THE LAST WORD IN

AFGHAN SAGACITY. EVEN MRS. TARAKI (TO THE BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE AN UNEDUCATED WOMAN) HAS NOW ENTERED PUBLIC LIFE WHEN HER PHOTO WAS CARRIED ON THE JUNE 3 FRONT-PAGES ON THE OCCASION OF INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S DAY. BABRAK KARMAL, A LONG-TIME RIVAL OF TARAKI, HAS APPARENTLY BEEN GIVEN THE TASK OF RECEIVING AND SENDING OFF DELEGATIONS AT KABUL AIRPORT, A SECONDARY ROLE WHICH THIS AMBITIOUS POLITICIAN MAY NOT RELISH.

8. WHETHER TARAKI'S PUBLIC DOMINATION OF THE NEWS MEDIA WILL EXACERBATE TENSIONS BETWEEN HIS OWN AND BABRAK'S LOYALISTS REMAINS TO BE SEEN, BUT MAINTAINING UNITY, OR AT LEAST COHESION, AMONG THE POLICY-MAKERS IS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT AND SIGNIFICANT TASKS WHICH THIS REGIME FACES. A POSSIBLE TARAKI-BABRAK SPLIT COULD HAVE FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES, SINCE MOST AVAILABLE EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS MUCH MORE NATIONALISTIC THAN HIS DEPUTY, AND THAT BABRAK WOULD BE MUCH MORE INCLINED TO STRENGTHEN AFGHAN-SOVIET TIES BEYOND THE CLOSENESS WHICH ALREADY EXISTS.

9. AFGHAN-SOVIET RELATIONS CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN: THE REGIME ANNOUNCED JUNE 1 THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH MOSCOW HAD BEEN SIGNED WHEREBY BAKHTAR, THE OFFICIAL AFGHAN NEWS AGENCY, AND TASS WOULD EXCHANGE "32 . INFORMATION," AND WOULD COOPERATE IN THE TECHNICAL FIELD (AGREEMENTS ALREADY EXISTED WITH REUTERS AND AFP). THIS AGREEMENT, WHICH IS A NEW ARRANGEMENT, COULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT LONG-RANGE POLITICAL IMPACT SINCE IT OPENS THE WAY FOR ACCELERATED PRO-SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPAGANDA. SO FAR, WESTERN NEWS AGENCIES AND TAS ARTICLES ARE CARRIED ABOUT EQUALLY IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS, BUT THE VERNACULAR PRESS HAS MUCH MORE PRO-SOVIET MATERIAL. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT AFGHAN PROPAGANDA MINISTRIES (RADIO AND TELEVISION, AND CULTURE AND INFORMATION) ARE HEADED BY PRO-BABRAK PARCHAMIST MINISTERS AND THE VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IS BELIEVED TO BE MUCH MORE PRO-SOVIET THAN TARAKI. ON THE FEMINIST FRONT, A MAY 25 OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT STATED THAT THE RECENTLY RESPECTABLE DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION OF AFGHANISTAN HAD BECOME A MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION OF WOMEN (AN ESTABLISHED INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION), AND THAT AN AFGHAN WOMEN'S DELEGATION HAD JUST RETURNED FROM A MEETING OF THAT GROUP IN MOSCOW. ADDITIONALLY AMBASSADOR PUZANOV'S WIFE WAS THE ONLY AMBASSADORIAL SPOUSE INVITED TO THE CHILDRENS' DAY FESTIVITIES.

10. A STEADY STREAM OF PUBLICITY REGARDING THE SIGN-
ING OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS HAS ALSO BEEN
SEEN OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS. SO FAR, TWENTY AFGHAN-SOVIET
SIGNING CEREMONIES HAVE TAKEN PLACE, BUT ALMOST ALL OF
THESE DEALT WITH AGREEMENTS WHICH WERE IN THE PIPELINE
PRIOR TO APRIL 27 (ESTIMATED TOTAL VALUE MORE THEN
\$35 MILLION). NEVERTHELESS, MOSCOW HAS CERTAINLY
BEEN THE FIRST COUNTRY OUT OF THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE
STARTING BLOCKS, AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT
ANY OTHER COUNTRY WILL CATCH UP IN THE FORESEEABLE
FUTURE, IF EVER.

11. ALTHOUGH THE REGIME'S FAVORABLE LEAN TOWARD
THE USSR SHOWS UP REPEATEDLY IN VARIOUS PUBLIC
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PRONOUNCEMENTS BY THE AFGHAN LEADERSHIP, THE
GOVERNMENT DID NOT PUBLISH A MAY 21 PRESS INTER-
VIEW WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN
HELD IN CUBA DURING HIS RECENT ATTENDANCE AT THE
NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU MEETING (KABUL 4566).
ON THAT OCCASION, AMIN EXTOLLED THE VIRTUES OF
GOOD RELATIONS WITH "REVOLUTIONARY CUBA," AS WELL
AS THE CONSOLIDATION, WIDENING, AND EXPANSION OF
FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN'S "GREAT NORTHERN
NEIGHBOR," THE SOVIET UNION. PAKISTAN, IRAN, AND
CHINA RECEIVED SHORT SHRIFT IN AMIN'S HAVANA REMARKS.
THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S SERIES OF MEETINGS IN NEW YORK
WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER LEFTIST COUNTRIES (E.G., THE
USSR, EAST GERMANY, BYELORUSSIA, MONGOLIA, ANGOLA
AND ETHIOPIA) CASTS FURTHER DOUBT ON AFGHANISTAN'S
"NON-ALIGNMENT."

12. PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN (PDPA) ASSUMING
ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY: ON MAY 25 THE PRESS
DISCLOSED THE EXISTENCE OF BOTH A SECRETARIAT OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PDPA AND A POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE PARTY'S CENTRAL
COMMITTEE, SUPREME ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLICY-MAKING BODIES, RESPEC-
TIVELY, IN A CLASSIC SOVIET PARTY MODEL. AT THE SAME TIME, IT
WAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL,
THE BODY WHICH HAS OSTENSIBLY GOVERNED AFGHANISTAN SINCE THE
APRIL 27-28 TAKEOVER, HAD BEEN ENLARGED BY SOME UNKNOWN NUMBERS.
TARAKI CONTINUES TO INSIST, HOWEVER, THAT SINCE THE "REVOLUTION
OF SAUR 7" (APRIL 27) THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A PARTY CALLED THE
"COMMUNIST PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN," AND DEPUTY MINISTERS WE HAVE
CALLED ON CONTINUE TO CLAIM THE LEADERSHIP IS NON-COMMUNIST.

13. IN HIS MAY 25 INTERVIEW WITH A CORRESPONDENT FROM THE INDIAN
MAGAZINE "CURRENT," TARAKI MADE CLEAR THAT THE PARTY WILL
DIRECT "ALL AFFAIRS" OF THE COUNTRY, A POLICY WHICH CONCEIVABLY
COULD RANKLE SOME MEMBERS OF THE MILITARY. THERE HAVE BEEN PER-

SISTENT RUMORS FOR THE PAST TWO WEEKS THAT DEFENSE MINISTER ABDUL
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QADER HAD A DUST-UP WITH HIS CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OVER THE DIRECTION IN WHICH THE REGIME WAS MOVING. AT THIS MOMENT, QADER STILL HOLDS HIS PORTFOLIO AND HAS ATTENDED OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS IN THIS CAPACITY. NEVERTHELESS, THE FACT THAT THESE RUMORS PERSIST LEADS US TO BELIEVE THAT SOME DISAGREEMENT WITHIN THE TOP LEADERSHIP DID, IN FACT, OCCUR. WHETHER DEEPER SCHISMS WILL APPEAR REMAINS TO BE SEEN, BUT WE ANTICIPATE AT SOME POINT A POWER STRUGGLE, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF PAST INTRA-PARTY ANIMOSITIES AND PRESENT PERSONAL AMBITIONS WHICH ARE BEGINNING TO SURFACE AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW RULING CLASS.

14. TARAKI'S "THIRTY POINTS" CONSTITUTE THE PARTY'S PLATFORM: IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION DURING HIS MAY 25 "CURRENT" INTERVIEW REGARDING

THE PARTY'S PROGRAM, TARAKI SAID THAT THE KHALQ PROGRAM OF 1965 "WAS DEVISED SCIENTIFICALLY" FOR A PERIOD PRIOR TO THE APRIL 27 REVOLUTION, AND HAD SERVED ITS HISTORICAL PURPOSE. HE ADDED, HOWEVER

, THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES, AND CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE 1965 PROGRAM, NOW CONSTITUTE THE "PRACTICAL PROGRAM" OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE. THE PUBLICATION OF THE THIRTY PRINCIPLES OF TARAKI'S MAY 9 SPEECH IN BOOKLET FORM UNDERSCORES THAT THEY NOW REPRESENT THE OFFICIAL GOALS OF THE PDPA, REGARDLESS OF HOW GENERAL OR VAGUE MOST OF THEM ARE (KABUL 4061).

15. CERTAIN OF THE POINTS HAVE RECEIVED CONSIDERABLY MORE ATTENTION THAN OTHERS. INTEGRATING THE COUNTRY'S MINORITIES INTO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MAINSTREAM HAS BEEN EMPHASIZED, MOST RECENTLY BY TARAKI IN A JUNE 1 SPEECH IN WHICH HE PROMISED INCREASED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS FOR THE EXTREMELY POOR AND REMOTE REGIONS OF THE COUNTRY. CORRUPTION HAS ALSO BEEN ROUNDLY CONDEMNED, AND PRESS REPORTS HAVE DISCLOSED THE ARREST OF A FEW UNFORTUNATES WHO ATTEMPTED TO BRIBE OFFICIALS OF THE NEW REGIME, THINKING APPARENTLY
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THAT THIS ANCIENT AFGHAN PRACTICE WOULD CONTINUE UNDER THE NEW ORDER. TRUE TO ITS COMMITMENT TO THE WORKING CLASS, THE REGIME HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LABOR UNIONS WHICH WERE BANNED UNDER THE PREVIOUS REGIME. WE ANTICIPATE THAT MORE SUCH ORGANIZATIONS WILL BE FORMED IN THE FUTURE, ALTHOUGH THE CLASSIC PROLETARIAT IS A VERY THIN, ALMOST NON-EXISTENT, CLASS IN THE AFGHAN ECONOMY. THREE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO) HAVE BEEN ASKED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, BUT WE HAVE HEARD CONFLICTING REPORTS AS TO WHETHER THIS WAS A POLITICAL MOVE DIRECTED AGAINST A CONTINUED ILO PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN -- OR BECAUSE THE LEADER OF THE TEAM WAS A SUBJECT OF NORWAY, AN "ALIGNED" NATO COUNTRY. HOWEVER, LOCA

UNDP OFFICIALS THINK THE ILO WILL BE PERMITTED TO CONTINUE ITS MISSION IN THE MINISTRY OF MINES AND INDUSTRIES, WHERE THEY HAVE BEEN ADVISING ON LABOR LEGISLATION, INDUSTRIAL SAFETY, HEALTH STANDARDS, WORKING CONDITIONS FOR WOMEN, TRAINING OF WORKERS, AND EMPLOYEE EXCHANGES.

16. REGIME TRUMPETS ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF ITS FIRST SIX WEEKS: TO EARN POPULAR SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY IN URBAN CENTERS, THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN (DRA) HAS ADOPTED A SERIES OF MEASURES IN EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATION AND HEALTH WHICH HAVE BEEN WARMLY RECEIVED, BUT WHOSE FINANCIAL COST HAS SEEMINGLY NOT BEEN ADDRESSED. THE MEASURES HAVE BEEN: PROVIDING GOVERNMENT JOBS TO UNEMPLOYED 12TH GRADE GRADUATES, ABOLISHING THE SPECIAL HIGH SCHOOL ENTRANCE EXAMS AND PROVIDING HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION TO THOSE WHO FLUNKED THE ENTRANCE TEST DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS, PROVIDING FREE CITY BUS TRANSPORT FOR CHILDREN AND FREE MEDICAL LAB TESTS FOR PATIENTS, AND IN THE MILITARY SERVICES EQUALIZING THE FOOD ALLOWANCES OF ALL OFFICERS, REGARDLESS OF GRADE.

17. MOHAMMADZAIS AND SOME FORMER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS REMAIN UNDER FIRE: THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN AIMED AT THE PERCEIVED EVILS OF THE MOHAMMADZAIS AND OFFICIALS OF PREVIOUS REGIMES CONTINUES WITH-CONFIDENTIAL

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OUT LET-UP. THE VERNACULAR PRESS HAS INSTITUTED A SERIES OF PARTICULARLY VICIOUS CARTOONS DEPICTING DAOUD, ET AL., IN VARIOUS LUDICROUS SITUATIONS WHICH GENERALLY REPRESENT OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLE. THIS PRINTED VITRIOL COULD BE OMINOUS BECAUSE SOME OF THE FIGURES IN THESE DRAWINGS ARE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE LAST REPORTED UNDER ARREST, BUT WHO BY NOW MAY HAVE MET AN EVEN HARSHER FATE. MOREOVER, UNCONFIRMED REPORTS CONTEND THAT THE SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE LAST DAOUD CABINET HAVE BEEN REARRESTED. THE FATE OF LOWER RANKING BUREAUCRATS MAY HAVE BEEN FORESHADOWED BY TARAKI'S REMARK IN HIS MAY 25 INTERVIEW THAT THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CIVIL SERVANTS WILL HAVE TO UNDERGO A "REEDUCATION" PROGRAM IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT THEIR FUTURE RESPONSIBILITIES.

18. MOHAMMADZAIS IN GENERAL HAVE RECEIVED NOT A FEW BRICKBATS. THE REGIME HAS LIFTED THE BAN ON A BOOK BY A NOTED AFGHAN AUTHOR WHICH CONTAINS A SCATHING DENUNCIATION OF THE MOHAMMADZAIS' HISTORICAL ROLE IN THIS COUNTRY. ADDITIONALLY, PROVIDING PROBABLY UNINTENDED COMIC RELIEF, A RADIO REPORT OF JUNE 4 REVEALED (DOWN TO THE LAST AFGHANI) THAT DAOUD AND HIS IMMEDIATE FAMILY HAD FOR YEARS FAILED TO PAY THEIR ELECTRIC BILLS. WE ANTICIPATE THAT THIS ANTI-MOHAMMADZAI CAMPAIGN WILL CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME, BUT EVENTUALLY THE PUBLIC WILL PROBABLY GROW WEARY AND THE REGIME MAY NEED TO FIND A THEME OTHER THAN THE EVILS OF PREVIOUS RULERS TO JUSTIFY ITS OWN LEGITIMACY.

19. DOES ANY GENUINE OPPOSITION EXIST? A JUNE 1 BBC REPORT THAT EIGHT CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL PARTIES HAD FORMED A UNITED OPPOSITION FRONT IN NEIGHBORING PAKISTAN PROBABLY STIRRED HOPE IN SOME AFGHAN CIRCLES THAT A COUNTER-REVOLUTION MAY BE ON THE WAY. DESPITE REPORTS OF CONTINUED FIGHTING IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES OF THE COUNTRY, THE REGIME AT THE MOMENT DOES NOT APPEAR TO FACE
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ANY UNMANAGEABLE INTERNAL OR EXTERNAL MILITARY THREAT. THE SCALE OF THE FIGHTING IN THE EAST REMAINS UNCLEAR, BUT ONE AFGHAN EMPLOYEE OF THE U.S. MISSION HAS BEEN DRAFTED INTO MILITARY SERVICE ABOUT FOUR MONTHS EARLY, OSTENSIBLY BECAUSE OF THE AFGHAN ARMY'S NEED TO REPLACE CASUALTIES SUFFERED IN THE COUP ITSELF, TO MEET THE SUBSEQUENT TRIBAL UNREST, AND TO REPLACE DESERTERS. THE STEADY ARRIVAL OF SOVIET ADVISERS AND EQUIPMENT INDICATES FURTHER THAT THE REGIME IS GARNERING SUPPORT FROM THAT QUARTER, AND HIGHLIGHTS THE PRODIGIOUS TASK WHICH ANY OPPOSITION WOULD HAVE IN TOPPLING THIS GOVERNMENT.

20. THE MOOD IN AFGHANISTAN IS APPREHENSIVE AND SOMBER: NOTWITHSTANDING THE REGIME'S CLAIMS THAT ALL IS WELL AND THE MASSES HAVE JOYOUSLY WELCOMED THE REVOLUTION, MANY AFGHANS ARE EXTREMELY APPREHENSIVE OVER THE DIRECTIONS IN WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT IS DEVELOPING. MOST OF THESE OBSERVERS ARE WELL AWARE THAT THE CHANGE SIX WEEKS AGO HERALDED A LEFTIST, PRO-SOVIET TAKEOVER OF THEIR COUNTRY. SOME AFGHANS ARE TRYING TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY AND TO ESTABLISH NEW LIVES IN THE WEST. DESPITE THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-BRIBERY PUBLICITY, THE UNDER-THE-COUNTER "PRICE" FOR EXTENDING A TRANSIT VISA HAS REPORTEDLY RISEN FROM 100 AFS TO AT LEAST 1,000 AFS. MOST AFGHANS, HOWEVER, REALIZE THAT EMIGRATION OR FLIGHT IS AN OPTION UNAVAILABLE TO THEM, AND THEY ARE SEEKING SOME SORT OF ACCOMODATION WITH THE REGIME. THE NIGHTLY CURFEW REMAINS IN FORCE, AND REPORTEDLY SCREENS CONTINUED ARRESTS, AS WELL AS "UNOFFICIAL" LOOTINGS OF THE HOMES OF THOSE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY. SPORADIC SMALL ARMS FIRE IS HEARD NIGHTLY IN VARIOUS SECTIONS OF THE CAPITAL AND KANDAHAR, BUT WE CANNOT VERIFY THE REASONS FOR THIS FIRING. INCREASING SIGNS POINT TO THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW "NEW CLASS" IN KABUL, INCLUDING THE REPORT THAT THE "PEOPLES' HOUSE" (THE FORMER ROYAL PALACE) IS NOT REALLY OPEN TO THE PEOPLE AT ALL. IN SUM, THE MOOD AMONG AFGHANS FROM MANY SOCIAL CLASSES, BUT ESPECIALLY THE EDUCATED ELITE, IS DARK, AND PARTICULARLY APPREHENSIVE REGARDING THE UNCERTAINTIES, OR, PERHAPS, CERTAINTIES, OF WHAT LIES IN THE FUTURE.
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21. ECONOMIC LIFE STILL IN THE DOLDRUMS:
(A) THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN REMAINS RELATIVELY STABLE. BUT, GENERAL COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES REMAIN AT AN ALMOST TOTAL STAND-

STILL. COUNTRYWIDE, PRICES FOR BASIC FOOD ITEMS CONTINUE TO DECLINE SLIGHTLY. IN SOME CITIES, HOWEVER, SUCH AS KANDAHAR, THE COUNTRY'S SECOND CITY, PRICES APPEAR TO BE ON THE UPSWING. THE OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE FOR DOLLARS (AFS 42/\$1) HAS NOT CHANGED, ALTHOUGH ON THE FREE MARKET MONEY BAZAAR THE DOLLAR IS DEPRESSED WITH THE CURRENT RATE FLUCTUATING BETWEEN AFS 36 AND 38/\$1.

(1) THE DRA HAS DECREED PRICE CONTROLS ON IMPORTED GOODS WITH IMPORTERS LIMITED TO EIGHT PERCENT PROFIT MARK-UP AND RETAILERS TO SEVER PERCENT. THIS MEASURE HAS ONLY SERVED TO FURTHER DISCOURAGE IMPORTS.

(2) RESTRICTIONS ON THE FREE MARKET MONEY BAZAAR OPERATIONS (I.E., LIMITATIONS ON AFGHANI BANK WITHDRAWALS) WERE RECENTLY EASED. HOWEVER SEVERAL MONEY BAZAAR DEALERS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN ARRESTED AND THE BAZAAR IS BARELY FUNCTIONING.

(3) ASSISTANCE AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUE TO BE SIGNED AT A RAPID RATE; THE NUMBER CONCLUDED SINCE THE COUP IS NOW 20, VALUED AT ABOUT \$35 MILLION IN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROJECTS.

(4) THE DRA HAS OSTENSIBLY LAUNCHED A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN AGAINST SMUGGLING. THE REASONING BEHIND THIS CAMPAIGN IS OBSCURE, SINCE AFGHANISTAN BENEFITS MORE FROM GOODS SMUGGLED OUT OF THE COUNTRY IN ITS SO-CALLED "RE-EXPORT TRADE" THAN IT SUFFERS FROM LOSS OF REVENUE ON GOODS SMUGGLED INTO THE COUNTRY.

(B) THE DRA IS EVIDENTLY PREPARING A NEW CURRENCY ISSUE, WHICH IS REPORTEDLY BEING PRINTED IN ENGLAND. HOWEVER, DETAILS ARE BEING KEPT TIGHTLY UNDER WRAPS AT THIS TIME.

22. CONCLUSIONS. CONSOLIDATING ITS POLITICAL POSITION AND ENSURING ITS OWN SECURITY REMAIN THE REGIME'S PRIMARY IMMEDIATE GOALS.
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THE TARAKI GOVERNMENT'S MILITARY ACTIONS AGAINST DOMESTIC INSURGENTS, ITS ACCEPTANCE OF ADDITIONAL SOVIET ADVISORS, AND ITS SHRILL PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN AIMED AT FOREIGN "REACTIONARY" ENEMIES, ARE AMONG THE STEPS BEING TAKEN TO ATTAIN THESE GOALS. BEYOND THIS, THE REGIME IS STILL IN ITS SHAKEDOWN PHASE, AND, DESPITE LOFTY PRONOUNCEMENTS CONCERNING LONGTERM AIMS, FEW MEANINGFUL PROGRAMS HAVE YET BEEN FORMULATED. THE DANGER PRESENTED BY UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS MAY LOOM ON THE HORIZON.

23. SCHISMS WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP ARE ALSO MAJOR PITFALLS WHICH THE REGIME MAY ENCOUNTER, BUT SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE OTHER THAN RUMORS THAT DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN CERTAIN KEY ACTORS HAVE TAKEN PLACE. THE MEN NOW RUNNING AFGHANISTAN, HOWEVER, HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF PERSONAL ANIMOSITIES AND DIFFERING POLITICAL OUTLOOKS, AND WE WOULD, THEREFORE, VIEW IT AS POSSIBLE THAT THE CURRENT MARRIAGE OF NECESSITY MAY FALL ON HARD TIMES IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE. ANY POTENTIAL POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN TARAKI AND BABRAK, OR BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND THE CIVILIAN PARTY LEADERSHIP, FOR EXAMPLE, WHICH EVOLVED IN FAVOR OF THE BABRAK HARDLINERS COULD RESULT IN EVEN FURTHER EROSION OF WESTERN INTERESTS HERE.
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Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE148111
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter:
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780243-1187
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeywv.tel
Line Count: 490
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8f2e4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: KABUL 4177
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2177061
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AFGHANISTAN'S LEFTIST REGIME CONTINUES TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POSITION
TAGS: PINT, PEPR, PGOV, ELAB, EGEN, EFIN, PROP, AF, US, UR
To: n/a INFO PARIS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8f2e4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014